R E P O R T R E S U M E S

ED 016 538 RC 001 648

EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN.

BY- ULIBARRI, HORACIO
NEW MEXICO STATE UNIV., UNIVERSITY PARK

PUB DATE MAR 68

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.25 HC-$0.92 21P.

DESCRIPTORS- ACHIEVEMENT, ACCULTURATION, CITIZEN PARTICIPATION, CROSS CULTURAL TRAINING, *EDUCATIONAL NEEDS, ETHNIC GROUPS, ECONOMICALLY DISADVANTAGED, EDUCATIONALLY DISADVANTAGED, JOB TRAINING, VALUES, *MEXICAN AMERICANS, OCCUPATIONS, PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT, SELF CONCEPT, ARIZONA, CALIFORNIA, COLORADO, NEW MEXICO, TEXAS,

SINCE MANY MEXICAN-AMERICANS ARE VOCATIONALLY UNTRAINED AND FUNCTIONALLY ILLITERATE, THE PROBLEMS RELATED TO THEIR EDUCATION ARE ANALYZED THROUGH EXAMINATION OF EDUCATIONAL NEEDS IN RELATION TO OCCUPATIONAL SUCCESS, CITIZENSHIP PARTICIPATION, AND PERSONALITY FACTORS. OCCUPATIONAL SUCCESS IS OFTEN PREVENTED BY A DIRECT CONFLICT BETWEEN THE MEXICAN FOLK CULTURE AND THE AMERICAN LABOR FORCE DEMANDS. THIS CONFLICT ARISES FROM THEIR LACK OF COMPETITIVENESS, THEIR TIMIDITY, THEIR TIME ORIENTATION, AND THEIR LEVELS OF ASPIRATION. ALL NEED TO BE TAUGHT THEIR BASIC CIVIL RIGHTS AS U.S. CITIZENS, THE EXTENT OF THEIR PROTECTION UNDER THE LAW, AND THE SERVICES PROVIDED BY VARIOUS GOVERNMENT AGENCIES. SUCCESSFUL OPERATIONS WITHING THE SOCIO-CULTURAL MILIEU PRODUCE A POSITIVE SELF IMAGE WHILE LITTLE SUCCESS PRODUCES A NEGATIVE ONE. PROBLEMS OF ACCULTURATION ARE CAUSED BY THE DISFUNCTIONS BETWEEN THE SOCIAL SYSTEM IN WHICH THE INDIVIDUAL IS FORCED TO OPERATE AND THE VALUE SYSTEM TO WHICH HE IS COMMITTED. THESE POINTS SUMMARIZE THE EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN--EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY, INCLUSION OF SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS IN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT, WELL PREPARED TEACHERS, GOOD MATERIALS, BETTER APPROACHES, SMALL CLASSES, AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT. THIS PAPER WAS PREPARED FOR THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR MEXICAN AMERICANS, AUSTIN, TEXAS, APRIL 25-26, 1968. (CL)

ED0165538

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

ERIC
CRESS

The

Clearinghouse on

Rural

Education and

Small

Schools

New Mexico State University

Las Cruces

RC 001648

EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN

by
HORACIO ULIBARRI
College of Education
The University of New Mexico
March 1968

Prepared for:
NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR MEXICAN-AMERICANS
April 25-26, 1968
Commodore Perry Hotel
Austin, Texas

Sponsored by:
ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools
New Mexico State University
Box 3AP, University Park Branch
Las Cruces, New Mexico
Telephone: 505-646-2623

A Unit of the Educational Resources Information Center
of the Bureau of Research, U.S.O.E.

INTRODUCTION

The Mexican-American is found in a continuum of educational attainment levels, from highly literate and well-educated professionals such as college professors, lawyers and doctors, to the untrained and illiterate agricultural workers. Perhaps the same is true in the rest of society, but, unlike the rest of society, the majority of the Mexican-Americans are vocationally untrained and functionally illiterate. Our job here, however, is neither to recriminate nor to try to find fault. Rather our task here is to attempt to analyze as dispassionately as possible the problems attendant to the education of the Mexican-American.

At one time we used to say that"ignorance is bliss", but today we know that ignorance is suffering; ignorance is being poor; ignorance is being helpless. Misery, bad health, hunger, and immorality are the products of ignorance. It is a shame for a nation of plenty to have poor in its midst; but it is ignominious for a nation with such vast wealth of technology, science, and knowledge to have so many poorly-educated, uneducated, and illiterate in its midst. In a nation of wealth we have poverty; in a nation of equality we have discrimination; in a nation of knowledge we have ignorance.

One may dismiss the above as trite and pedantic. There are some who may wish to state that efforts have been made, and are being made, to alleviate the situation, and why all the worry. There are some that may wash their hands of the whole matter. There are those who wish to incite these ignorant masses to demonstration and riot to serve their own unscrupulous ends. Whatever the case may be, the victims are the poor and ignorant, as well as the rest of society, if steps are not taken to ameliorate the situation. One must remember that a chain is as strong as its weakest link, and a nation is as strong as its weakest social group. When we have a group of little under six million, the majority of whose members are living in poverty and ignorance, we have a very serious condition and, potentially, a very explosive situation. It behooves all of us not only on moral grounds to restore the dignity of these degenerate people but also on social considerations to elevate these ignorant masses to their rightful place in society.[1]

Scope of the Paper

This paper will attempt to examine the educational needs of the Mexican-American in relation (1) to occupational success, (2) to citizenship participation, and (3) to personality factors. No attempt will be made to delineate age groups or educational levels because these factors are more the problem of program development than the task of this paper. At the same time it must be stated that while the three general areas in which this paper will be developed are dichotomized, for the sake of analysis, in reality they are interrelated and form an integral social problem.

NEEDS RELATED TO OCCUPATIONAL SUCCESS

Compared to the population as a whole, a higher percentage of the Mexican-Americans hold menial and low paying jobs. Conversely, there are fewer professionally-trained Mexican-Americans and fewer Mexican-Americans holding professional and managerial jobs than the relative size of their population would indicate. For example, in the Southwest, where 10.6% of the experienced civilian labor force was composed of Spanish-surname males, only 3.4% were engaged in professional, technical, and kindred work.[2] Estimates are that about 60% of the nearly six-million Mexican-Americans are engaged in seasonal agricultural work or manual work of the skilled or semi-skilled types. At the same time the Mexican-American has one of the highest unemployment rates in the nation.

The labor force of today needs people who are literate and trainable. Irrespective of native intelligence, a good index of trainability among the disadvantaged is the number of years of schooling completed. Again we find a gloomy picture regarding the Mexican-American. Table I presents a concise picture of the educational attainment levels of the Mexican-American in the Southwest.[3]

TABLE I

MEAN GAIN IN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF PERSONS 25 YEARS AND OVER IN THE FIVE SOUTHWESTERN STATES, 1950 and 1960

State	Spanish Surname			Anglo			Non-White		
	1950	1960	Gain	1950	1960	Gain	1950	1960	Gain
Arizona	6.1	7.0	+0.9	10.6	11.7	+1.1	5.5	7.0	+1.5
California	7.6	8.6	+1.0	11.8	12.1	+0.3	8.9	10.5	+1.6
Colorado	6.4	8.1	+1.7	10.9	12.1	+1.2	9.8	11.2	+1.4
New Mexico	7.4	7.7	+0.3	9.5	11.5	+2.0	5.8	7.1	+1.3
Texas	3.6	4.7	+1.1	9.7	10.8	+1.1	7.0	8.1	+1.1

In relation to trainability and job placement we also find a somber picture. By 1960 mechanization and automation began to displace the bracero and migrant worker. By 1964 the migrant was displaced almost completely from seasonal agricultural work except for a few minor operations that could not be handled by machinery.[4] By 1965 the functionally illiterates who had been following the crops found themselves not only unemployed but unemployable. Worse yet, when attempts to rehabilitate them into other types of occupations were made, these people were found to be virtually untrainable because of their low literacy level. Table II shows the disproportionate percentage of Mexican-Americans who are functionally illiterate.[5]

TABLE II

PERCENT OF PERSONS 25 YEARS AND OVER IN SELECTED EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT CATEGORIES FOR THE FIVE SOUTHWESTERN STATES, 1960

State	Spanish		Anglo		Non-White	
	4 Years or Less	High School or More	4 Years or Less	High School or More	4 Years or Less	High School or More
Arizona	35.1	14.6	3.6	45.0	37.5	15.7
California	24.0	24.4	3.6	54.8	12.0	39.8
Colorado	24.0	18.3	3.2	54.6	8.3	44.6
New Mexico	29.6	18.9	3.7	56.9	39.2	19.0
Texas	52.0	11.7	6.3	46.3	23.6	20.9

It is significant to note that the gap between the educational attainment level of the Mexican-American and that of the rest of the population is consistently being narrowed. For example, in 1950 the gap between the Mexican-American and the Anglo-American was 5.9, or about 52% of the Anglo median. By 1960 the adult Mexican-American on the average had 7.1 years of schooling as against the mean attainment of 12.1 for the Anglo.[6] Coupling this fact with the comparison that can be made from Table I regarding the net gain of the three groups, one can say that the Mexican-American is pushing himself forward. This should not be a source of complacency, however. The significant factor is the real difference in educational attainment levels between the Mexican-American and the rest of society. If the Mexican-American is to attain his rightful place in American society, the levels of educational attainment must be pushed forward at a considerably more rapid rate than the rest of society is progressing. This is not to intimate that the Mexican-American deserves preferential treatment over the rest of society; however, if the rest of society, which is progressing at a tremendously fast rate in the field of science and technology, is not going to be burdened by large numbers of unemployed, unemployable, and untrainable members, help needs to be given fast and effectively.

Ethnic Values and Job Placement

The functionally illiterate must be made literate before attempting to train them for jobs, and the untrained must be trained in necessary job skills. If this is done by vocational rehabilitation, it must be understood that such rehabilitation not only means training the individual in these necessary skills, but also teaching him values that are compatible with sustained employment. Unfortunately, within the Mexican-American value system one finds some values that are in direct conflict with demands in the labor market today. Among these are (1) lack of competition, (2) timidity, (3) present-time orientation, and (4) low levels of aspiration.

Competition. The Mexican-American has traditionally lived within the organization of the family, which required a high degree of cooperation. When one first sees the migrant worker bent over a long row of onions feverishly working to get to the other end, one does not notice a

lack of competition in him. Lack of competition, however, has a nagging way of making its presence known. The Mexican-American will take the personality of the competitor into consideration before deciding on a given goal that requires competition. Here, for example, friendship and personal relationships enter into the picture rendering the Mexican-American, at best, an unwilling competitor.

Traditionally, the Mexican-American has been an humble person. Calling attention to one's self is still considered rather distasteful. Therefore, employers, in seeking leadership, will often by-pass the Mexican-American because he has been reluctant to let his efficiency be known. Often an employer will place a Mexican-American in a position of leadership despite the protest of the individual himself. The Mexican-American, unlike his Anglo counterpart, disdains self-acclaim. Even if an individual would like to indicate to his employer that he is the man for the leadership position, he may often not know the subtleties by which this can be done. Also, anybody attaining any position of leadership becomes the victim of systematic "cutting him down to size" by his former peers because they suspect use of unacceptable tactics.

Timidity. Marden describes the problems that minority group members encounter in attempting to function within the social system of a majority group. He describes how the majority group, by virtue of the power vested in it, is in a position to set the behavioral norms by which the minority groups must operate. Usually these norms tend to be quite foreign to the minority group member. The minority group member, who feels awkward and ignorant in attempting to behave in the scope of these new norms is frightened by the new demands of the situation and, thus, as a matter of fact, behaves in an inferior manner when compared to the majority group member. Ridicule, job termination, and discrimination are some of the sanctions used against the individual for not behaving in a manner that is amenable to the demands of the job. The longer the individual experiences this kind of treatment the more timid he becomes.

One of the great needs in re-orienting these people into types of employment other than agricultural work is to give them the opportunity to function socially within the roles that they will be expected to play later as employees.

Present-Time Orientation. The Mexican-American is not different from the rest of society in his broadness of time orientation when social class is held constant. We find that the higher the social class status of the individual, the broader is his time orientation. Figure I illustrates this point.[9]

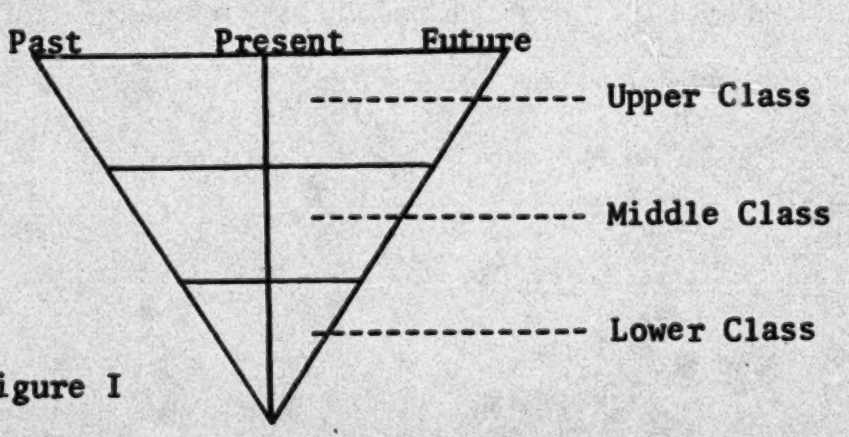

Figure I

What makes the Mexican-American different from the rest of society regarding time orientation is the fact that the majority of Mexican-Americans belong to the lower classes of American society. Thus the majority of Mexican-Americans are oriented to the present.

This narrowness of time orientation is expressed in terms of reward expectation and self-projection. Ulibarri found that the Spanish-speaking migrant was strongly narrow-time oriented in all areas of life regarding reward expectation. He also found that the typical migrant viewed his role in society in a narrow-time orientation. In other words, the typical migrant had long forgotten most of the past and did not project himself too far into the future. Ulibarri further found that none of them envisioned any type of activity that would improve them economically. They did express a feeling that their children should have an education, but their actions belied their words. Their children were dropping out of school on the average of only two to three grades above where their parents had dropped out.[10]

Time does not permit further expression on the meaning of this orientation in terms of needs for better approaches to educating these adults along vocational lines. It is sufficient to say that the whole complex of the American system operates on a fairly broad-time orientation, and either we move these individuals from their present-time orientation to a broader basis or we shall fail in any attempt to educate them for a better living.

Aspiration Levels. Regarding levels of aspiration, one can surmise that the Mexican-American is in the same continuum as he is found regarding broadness of time orientation. He is found in a continuum from very low levels of aspiration to unusually high ones. Levels of aspiration are related to the economic and educational circumstances of the individual. One finds that individuals with better economic means and higher levels of education are more aspirant than those with less economic means and less education. Perhaps there is a cause-effect relationship here. However, the same problem exists as with time orientation, namely, that the majority of the Mexican-Americans are found in the ranks of the poor and the uneducated.[11] The problem is not with those who have economic means and are fairly well educated. These know what to aspire for and generally can find the means of attaining these aspirations. The problem is with the poor and uneducated. How can we get them out of the downward spiral that circumstances have placed them in so that they may look up to higher goals and a better life?

Recapitulation of Values, Training, and Employment. Social circumstances are often not compatible with the value system of the individual, and the individual generally suffers because of this discrepancy. The Mexican-Americans of the lower classes, those who are presently in need of vocational training and re-training, tend to be non-competitive, timid, narrow-time oriented, and of low aspirational levels. The competitive world of labor demands a competitive, aggressive, future-time oriented individual with high aspirational levels. It is not enough for

vocational education and rehabilitation to train these individuals in the skills necessary to do a job, but it is also necessary to teach them the social amenities which will assure these people sustained employment and advancement on the job.

Social Conditions, Employment, and Training

The greatest amounts of energy and resources in the War on Poverty have been spent on vocational rehabilitation. Training, re-training, and job placement have been the key words for most of the efforts expended in rehabilitating the displaced worker. Adult basic education and home living education have been sidelines, as it were, of the major effort of placing these people back into jobs.

How successful these efforts have been we have no accurate manner of knowing, because the survey information is still incomplete. The majority of project directors say that they have a difficult time transferring their graduates from the adult basic education classes to on-the-job training programs. Very little is actually known about the actual job placement situation and less on the matter of how long the people placed have sustained employment.

Regardless of what the situation may be in relation to job placement and all other factors regarding vocational rehabilitation, one fact is very apparent, and that is that automation and cybernation are increasing. This increase in automation and cybernation, whether it closes more jobs than what it creates, or vice versa, will require a more skilled, more technical, and more literate worker than the job demands of yesteryear. This means that a greater percentage of the time in vocational rehabilitation must be spent in literacy programs. Obviously, learning capacity will then be a major factor. Age is also another consideration. Some of these displaced workers are already too old at age 45 for any kind of vocational rehabilitation.

What these factors seem to indicate is that it may be a mistake to attempt to rehabilitate all impoverished workers without setting some criteria and priorities regarding participant and program selection.[12] At present two criteria are generally used in attempting to rehabilitate them; namely: (1) qualification of the applicant as to the poverty factor, and (2) availability of the program. Selection criteria such as interest, attitude, and age are seldom strong considerations in the admission policies for most programs. The reasons are many and the difficulties encountered in attempting to be more selective are well appreciated. Nonetheless, such criteria need to be applied in order to train the individual for the type of job where he will be able to do best and in which he will encounter the most satisfaction. At the same time, it is imperative that we start eliminating those individuals who, even after re-training, are going to be unemployable.

This also means that one of the greatest needs in the education of the Mexican-American is the development of instruments that will

measure with a fair degree of accuracy the vocational potential of the Mexican-American.

PROBLEMS RELATED TO CITIZENSHIP

The problem of citizenship participation and the problem of participating in the regular milieu of American life by the Mexican-American are often thought to be synonomous to many people. Differentiation between the two should be explicit and clear. Participation in the regular everyday life of the American society has to do with the acceptance of certain ways of behaving according to certain social amenities and becoming emotionally committed to a given value system. In short, it has to do with acculturation. Citizenship participation, on the other hand, has to do with the insistence on one's rights and liberties as American citizens and, at the same time, assuming conscientiously one's responsibilities. The two factors are obviously related, but, for purposes of identifying educational needs and establishing goals and developing programs, the two must be differentiated.

Status Quo

In assessing the status quo in the Southwest regarding citizenship participation, one must forever be conscious of the border situation. It is estimated that over 33,000 Mexican Nationals cross the border every year with the intention of staying in the United States more or less on a permanent basis.[13] The vast majority of those crossing are the impoverished and uneducated, who have little more than manual labor skills. These people cross the border to escape the situation which, in their estimation, is worse back in Mexico than what they could possibly face here in the United States. These people are not active civic participants in the politics of Mexico. When they cross the border they neither are eligible for participation in the politics of the state or the county in which they reside, nor do they have the orientation towards citizenship participation.

The regular Mexican-American migrants have never really had the opportunity to develop what one might consider civic responsibility. In following the crops they rarely stayed long enough in any place to fulfill residence requirements.[14] When at home they have little or no emotional attachment to the community, as such, and feel little or no responsibility regarding the civic affairs of the community. Great numbers of these people are not registered voters and, consequently, large numbers of them rarely vote.

The Mexican-Americans who are regular residents of some communities can be categorically divided into the politician and the non-politician types. The politician-types tend to be of two kinds, the old-time party line politician and the young aspirant to political office. The non-politician types are those who neither aspire to political office nor often care who gets elected. Their orientation generally is that all politicians are crooked and corrupt, and it really does not matter who gets elected to office.

New Mexico has had a long history of strong political participation by the Mexican-American, and a definite political accommodation pattern has existed for a long time between the Anglo and the Spanish-American politician. Northern New Mexico, for example, which has had until recently at least 85% Spanish surname, has had a leading role in determining the fate of politics in the rest of the state. It is estimated that these Northern New Mexico districts have as high a ratio between voting registration and voting participation as the highest in the nation.

The accommodation pattern in political life has been, until recently, a curious phenomenon to follow. For example, Anglos occupy the governor's office and Spanish-Americans occupy the lieutenant-governor's office. The Anglos have one senator and the Spanish-Americans also have one senator. The Anglos have always had the offices of congressman except for a relatively short period. At the state level the offices are similarly divided. In the legislature, the Spanish-Americans had a large number of representatives, but the Anglo group dominated the senate. At the local or county levels the Spanish-Americans usually have held all the county offices, except that the Anglos usually have had representation in the Board of County Commissioners. These patterns are now being broken by a new wave of young, fairly militant, Spanish-American politicians.[15]

In Colorado the struggle for representation in political life has been hard and not so fruitful. Probably the same has to be said of Texas. Politics in California has not borne much more fruit than in the last two states mentioned. These states are different from New Mexico in that visible and vicious discrimination against the Mexican-American has been an everyday factor there, while it has not been in New Mexico. Also, the fact that New Mexico remained rural in character for a longer period of time has had something to do with the Spanish-Americans not suffering serious setbacks in political life as have the Mexican-Americans of other states. This does not mean, however, that the rank and file Mexican-American of New Mexico has fared any better at the hands of politicians, even though some of the strongest politicians have been Mexican-Americans.[16]

In the larger cities, such as Los Angeles, there has been a significant decline in voter registration and voting participation over the last few years.[17] What accounts for this decline perhaps has not been adequately analyzed yet. It may be ignorance on the part of the Mexican-American voter; it may be indifference; or it may be frustration. Nonetheless, in most cases, the Mexican-American has not had adequate representation in the government of the state. For example, California did not have one Mexican-American representing its population in either house of the legislature in 1965.

Perhaps one of the reasons why New Mexico apparently has fared better in having Mexican-American representation in the various levels of government has been that the traditional orientation of the patrón system was kept in operation longer in New Mexico than in the other southwestern

states. This patrón orientation, when it began to fade from the economic life of the Spanish-speaking in New Mexico, was translated into the orientation of the political boss.[18] The political boss assumed many of the responsibilities of the old patrón, not all. But, at the same time, he reaped all the rewards of a loyal following. To what extent this may be true of the other states has not been adequately analyzed.

On the surface, this shift from the patrón system to a political boss system would seem to provide the avenue by which the Mexican-Americans could assure themselves of adequate representation at all levels in the government. The history of New Mexico politics does not support this assumption, however. In New Mexico the political boss has acquired and kept a following among Mexican-Americans by using emotional appeal and not by output that was beneficial to them from his political office. This is one of the explanations why Northern New Mexico has had a long and sad history of poor educational systems, lack of industry, and economic exploitation of several types. In general, it can be said that the Mexican-American political boss obtained a following by appealing to the emotions of the Mexican-Americans; he delivered the votes while settling for a political plum for himself and a few of his compatriots. At other levels the politician received the Mexican-American vote by emotional appeal, and received the Anglo-American vote by bringing federal installations into the Anglo-American community.[19]

Implications for Education. The lack of representation of Mexican-Americans in all levels of government can be attributed to many factors. Among these are: (1) deliberate disfranchisement, either directly or indirectly, (2) ignorance on the part of the Mexican-American constituents as to their rights and duties as American citizens, and (3) deliberate exploitation both by Anglo and Mexican-American politicians.

It would seem that the first step in citizenship training would have to do with learning about the rights and privileges that any person who is a citizen of the United States can enjoy. Among these should be the basic civil rights that are accorded all citizens of the United States. Extent of protection under the law and legal aid should be part of these programs. Also, the services that are provided by many government agencies at all levels should be known to the Mexican-American.[20]

Next, it would seem that civic responsibility should be very strongly emphasized. Many of the uneducated Mexican-Americans look at the government as if it were a personification of some kind.[21] This type of orientation excludes the individual from any kind of responsibility towards the government. This orientation can be explained from a cultural perspective where some official, especially at the local level, traditionally was the government as far as the citizens of that community were concerned. This orientation has to be changed and the Mexican-American has to realize that the government is the people and that he has certain obligations and duties towards preserving, modifying, and carrying forth our democratic form of government. Not only does the

Mexican-American need to realize these factors, at the cognative level, but somehow or another he has to become emotionally committed to a government that is self-government and, instead of dependence on the government, has to display independence in thought and action as to what he thinks that government ought to be and ought to do.

PROBLEMS RELATED TO PERSONALITY FACTORS

The greatest emphasis in educating the Mexican-American perhaps should be placed in developing programs that are related to ameliorating and solving some of the problems related to personality factors. Education can be the vehicle by which the transition can be made by the individual from operating strictly in the Mexican-American socio-cultural environment to successful participation in both the Mexican and Anglo-American cultures. The problems that will be treated here will be the problems related to self-image, to acculturation, and to the culture of poverty.

Self-Image

Self-image is a product of all the socio-cultural forces interrelating within the personality of the individual. Because of the relative constancy of these relationships, there emerge certain patterns that become the image of the group as perceived by itself and/or by others. To the extent that an individual's perception of himself is in harmony with the group's image of itself, one can say that the individual has an integrated personality to function within that specific socio-cultural system. To the extent that it is in disharmony one would say that the individual's personality structure is disorganized in relation to the socio-cultural environment in which he is expected to operate.[22]

The individual then develops qualities of confidence, pride, and dignity, or looks upon himself as being progressive and optimistic. Self-reliance and self-assurance are virtues that the individual may hold high in self-esteem. These qualities that the individual finds in himself may be the results of his successful functioning in a given social system. He has been able to satisfy his innate and acquired needs successfully within the role set and status set that society has prescribed for him. In other words, one would say that he has a positive image of himself.[23]

On the other hand, taking the needs of an individual into consideration, there may be some disfunction between the culture and value system of the individual and the social system in which he is forced to operate. For example, the culture of the individual may tell him to be cooperative but the social structure demands aggression and competition. The culture of the individual may have taught him to be dependent on a patrón on or some other authority figure, but the society demands of him to be highly independent both in thought and action. Moreover, the society has within its grasp the mechanisms by which to force the individual to behave according to its own norms. Under these conditions it is extremely hard for an individual to develop an integrated personality. Rather his

personality structure becomes disorganized and dislocated. He may not be sure of his self-image, and because of constant rebuff he may have developed a negative self-image.[24]

All of this is to say that an individual looks at himself in a positive or negative way, taking into consideration his own capabilities, his value system, and the demands that are made upon him by society. He may be rather unconscious of any or all the ensuing factors. He understands one thing, however, and that is success, or lack of it, in functioning within a given social cultural system. As a rule of thumb one would say that successful operations within the socio-cultural milieu produce a positive image of self, and lack of success a negative one.

Self Stereo Types. A sample of Mexican-Americans were asked to agree or disagree with certain statements regarding themselves in comparison with other Americans.[25] In general, the Mexican-Americans believed the following about themselves:

(1) The Mexican-American has stronger family ties than most other Americans;
(2) Other Americans do not work as hard as the Mexican-American;
(3) Other Americans are more materialistic than the Mexican-American;
(4) Mexican-Americans are very emotional;
(5) Other Americans tend to be more progressive than Mexican-Americans;
(6) Mexican-Americans often blame other Americans for their position, but really it is the Mexican-American's own fault;
(7) They often shout about their rights but do not have anything to offer.

Other studies have indicated that the Mexican-American thinks of himself as being oppressed by society because of discrimination. The typical migrant worker suffers from an inferiority complex in terms of seeking self-help through education. The migrants are very strongly aware of their impoverished condition, which gives rise to a strong fear of want, although they may be fully aware of this fear.[26]

In many of the schools in the southwest where teachers prohibit, under penalties of heavy sanctions, the use of Spanish within the confines of the school, the children become ashamed of their own language and often try to hide their shame by making it known that they cannot speak the language.[27] Many jokes about "mi raza" express the shame that many of the Mexican-Americans have of their own cultural background. A standard practice among the Mexican-Americans is to change their Spanish name to the Anglo equivalent. For example, Antonio becomes Tony, and Andres becomes Andy.

The Mexican-American is under heavy pressure from the rest of society to function like the "rest of society" in thought, word, and deed. The burden becomes unbearable when applied by the teacher in the classroom. Some teachers will consistently reward the Mexican-American child for behaving like a middle-class Anglo, and, with the same persistence, punish him for behaving like a little Mexican-American. All told,

perhaps the school, in its narrow middle-class cultural setting, does more to make the Mexican-American ashamed of his cultural heritage than any other force in society.

The implications for the evaluation of the Mexican-American are very obvious. We need teachers who understand, are empathetic to the culture of the Mexican-American, and are cognizant of the social background from whence the child comes.[28] We need a curriculum that will provide the child with an opportunity for success rather than constant and dismal failure. We need activities in school programs that will make the child proud of his Mexican cultural heritage in order that he may become an equally proud American.

Acculturation

For the purposes of this discussion, acculturation will mean the process by which an individual moves in his behavior from one socio-cultural setting to another. There are several accompanying phenomena which affect the personality of the individual who is involved in the process of acculturation. In one of the first studies in acculturation, Herskovitz describes the process in terms of diffusion, assimilation, acceptance, adaptation, and reaction.[29] It will be worth our while to examine these concepts because all play an important part in the determination of future goals and program development for the education of the Mexican-American.

Diffusion is the aspect of cultural change which includes the transmission of techniques, attitudes, and concepts from one cultural group to another. This change can be a two-way process; however, the dominant culture usually undergoes less change, with more selectivity, than the minority group culture. Assimilation is used to designate the process by which a culture achieves synthesis. In other words, when a value has been assimilated, it becomes a functional part of the belief system, is taught through the culture's own process, and is enforced by the mechanism of social control. Acceptance occurs when the members of the minority culture lose most of the values and practices of the old culture and acquire the inner values and behavioral patterns of the culture with which the group has come into contact. Adaptation is a condition where original and foreign cultural traits are combined to produce a smoothly cultural functional whole. It is achieved with modifications of the patterns of the two cultures. There may be the retention of a series of conflicting attitudes and values which are reconciled in everyday life as specific occasions arise.

Reaction occurs because of oppression or because of unforeseen consequences of the acceptance of foreign cultural traits. Contra-culturation movements develop and the reaction may maintain its psychological force: (1) as a compensation for the imposed or assumed inferiority; or (2) through the prestige which a return to the pre-acculturative conditions may bring to the group participating in such a movement.

Acculturation is more selective for the adult than for the child. The adult can select from the culture what has resemblances to the familiar,

and add to his store of new learnings as they are needed. In general, the adult can retain his identity in his own ethnic and cultural cluster, but to the child who is still in the process of learning the social roles, the decision creates much more stress. He is caught between the culture of his parents and that of the school, as well as that of the rest of the community. Thus, he is forever being forced to choose between conflicting sets of values, being rewarded or punished alternatively or simultaneously by the conflicting cultural systems. Cultural disruption is a common result of contact by one cultural group with another. Sometimes acculturation encourages positive changes in one or both cultural groups. The most common patterns have been one of cultural disruption, however, for the minority's culture.[30]

In short, the problems of acculturation of the Mexican-American basically arise because of the disfunctions between the social system in which the individual is forced to operate and the value system to which the individual is emotionally committed. For example, the Anglo-American society wants the individual to be oriented towards achievement and success, while the traditional Mexican culture's orientation is towards ascription. The Anglo society demands that the norms by which roles are played be applied universalistically, while the Mexican culture values highly the orientation of personalism. "Duty before personal feeling," or neutral affectivity is the rule within the Anglo society, but the Mexican society has emotionalism as a highly rewarded value. The same contradiction occurs in definition of roles. The Anglo society has clear-cut and well-defined roles, but the Mexican culture has very diffuse role definition.

The disparity between the demands of the Anglo society and the basic values to which the traditional Mexican culture adheres creates schizophrenic conditions in which the Mexican-American must function. Moreover, the schizophrenic conditions are a continuing factor in the life of the Mexican-American. The Anglo society demands that the Mexican-American play his roles according to Anglo norms. This, the Mexican-American can do if he knows the roles and the norms, while he is operating within the Anglo-American socio-cultural setting. But, when he moves into the Mexican-American socio-cultural context the rules of the game change. Now the norms of the Mexican-American socio-cultural system are in operation.

This schizophrenic tendency, or personality dislocation, as it is often called, gives rise to confusion and often to complete disorientation of values. Alcoholism, vandalism, drug addiction, prostitution, and several other types of baser behavior are exemplified by these marginal people. Acculturation can be viewed as a continuum. At one extreme one finds the individual in a state of confusion and possibly in a state of cultural shock. In the second stage the individual is striving to be more Anglo than the Anglo. Finally, in the third stage the individual engages in a pseudocultural regression, trying to be more Mexican than his forefathers.

The implications for education are many, some of which are very obvious, but some of which are very subtle and quite difficult to implement.

Among the more obvious ones are:

(1) More understanding and empathetic teachers. This assumes not only that the teacher understands the culture of the Mexican-American and is empathetic to it, but that she is also keenly aware of the impact that the process of acculturation has on the personality of the individual. Ideally, also, the teacher would be able to do something within her classroom behavior to alleviate these conditions;
(2) Programs that would help to alleviate the pain of the process of acculturation. Here such courses as Mexican History, History of the Hispanic Cultures, and Units on the Mexican-American could possibly soothe the pains of acculturation by giving the child a positive image of his cultural heritage;
(3) Bilingual education programs which would reinforce literacy in both languages. With a strong bilingual program a child would develop a deeper understanding of, and pride in, his cultural heritage, which would prevent cultural shock, often a concomitant factor of acculturation.

Among the more subtle implications that acculturation has for the education of the Mexican-Americans is the definition of new approaches to bring about in him desirable changes without forcing on him the devastating problems of personality disorganization. We have failed miserably in school through the years, both in getting the Mexican-American to achieve at a comparable level with his Anglo peers, as well as in helping the Mexican-American move smoothly from one culture into another. We have paid lip service to developing bi-culturism in the Mexican-American, but, in practice, all educational programs from pre-school to university have been geared to the complete acculturation, assimilation, and amalgamation of the Mexican-American. Were it not for the cultural reticence of the Mexican-American, the totality of the Mexican culture in this group would perhaps have been erased by now. The sad part is that the educators, while full of good intentions, have generally been very ignorant of the harm that they have been perpetrating to the individual.

A possible measure to prevent personality disorganization, or at least to alleviate the problem, is the development of true bi-cultural programs through role theory. The difficulty that has never been overcome in developing bi-cultural programs is the problem that, in the assimilation of values, there are values in one culture that are contradictory to some of the values in the other culture. For example, competition, which is a focal motivational structure in the Anglo culture, is hard to reconcile with the cooperation required in the Mexican family. Application of role theory to teaching behavior and enhancing attitude development, seems to offer promise in overcoming this difficulty.

Development of a bi-cultural program through role theory proposes that roles an individual will be required to play in either cultural setting be sharply defined. These roles should be taught together with the values and norms within which the roles are to be played. Thus, if an individual has to play a role within the Anglo-cultural setting, this role, together with the Anglo-cultural values within which these roles are to be played, should be taught. The same thing can be done for the

individual when he has to function within the Mexican-American culture. The assumption of this approach is that when an individual knows how to play a role he will be successful in playing the role. When an individual is made aware of the values and norms within which the role is played, success in playing the role will eventually bring about emotional commitment to the norms and values within which the role is played.

Culture of Poverty

The concept of "Culture of Poverty" has come into prominence only in the most recent years, primarily through the works of Oscar Lewis. Some of the traits and characteristics of the people which have become evident in the culture of poverty not only have to do with low levels of economic and social environment, but also with certain personality and social characteristics.

The members of the culture of poverty have been described as having little money, virtually no savings, and no economic security. These factors conspire to obligate the individual to buying in small amounts, buying low quality merchandise, and becoming victims of usurious installment or credit-buying plans, all of which means that the cost of being poor, financially, is very expensive. At the same time it has been found that the members of this group have a much lower life expectation, lower levels of physical and mental health, and lower levels of general physical stamina than non-members. A very familiar characteristic is that this group has low levels of educational achievement, inadequate skills, lack of intellectual stimulation, and a lack of motivation concerning education. Their expectations of the members concerning education for their children often are unrealistic and imaginary. Less obvious, but nevertheless, there are certain psychological characteristics. Among these, Haggstrom lists the following:[31]

(1) The poor tend to have a keen sense of the personal and concrete. Their interests typically are restricted to the self, the family, and the neighborhood. Most of this interest is primarily concerned with the problem of survival rather than moving up in society.
(2) The poor plan very little, and only on a very short term basis. They meet their troubles and take their pleasures on a moment-to-moment basis. They expect immediate gratification and do little self-projection.
(3) Much hostility and egoism is directed towards those who prosper. They have a strong feeling of being exploited.
(4) These people are characterized by having many negative attitudes and few positive ones. There is also a definite fatalistic tendency and a lack of conviction that it is within their power to affect their circumstances.

The obvious educational need of the people which has emerged in the culture of poverty is not learning the subject matter, but, rather, building their ego to higher levels of existence. The education of these people should endeavor to move them from the present-time orientation to a broader orientation, from a fatalistic attitude to a mastery-of-fate attitude, from a pessimistic to an optimistic outlook on life, from a negative to a

positive self-image, from welfare orientation to a self-help orientation. This necessity requires imagination and perhaps totally different types of educational programs. It requires programs which will widen the scope of experience of these individuals so that they will see that there is another way of life. They have to taste the rewards of the other side of life in order that they will desire them. Above all, they must be removed from the downward spiral of economic and psychological poverty.

SUMMARY

The above discussion has focused on the interrelated social and cultural factors impinging on the education of the Mexican-American. It has not attempted to spell solutions and programs primarily because that was not the task of this paper. In relation to program development and the ongoing enterprise of educating the Mexican-American, the following points seem to give a global perspective of the educational needs of the Mexican-American:

(1) Equality of educational opportunity. Equality of educational opportunity means that the individual has the opportunity in education to progress to the extent of his potential in the area he desires. This concept has as its basic structure the proposition that the individual should be given help of whatever nature his needs may be. Because of a combination of social factors, neither the programs that enable the individual to progress to the extent of his capacity nor the help that he needs in order to realize his potential have been made available, generally speaking, to the Mexican-American. The Mexican-American has been the victim of poor school plants, ill-equipped classrooms, and poorly prepared teachers. The programs have been middle-class oriented and not geared to the needs of the Mexican-American.

(2) Inclusion of socio-cultural factors in educational program development. Through ignorance, and sometimes deliberate attempts, the socio-cultural factors of the Mexican-Americans have been completely ignored in the development of programs and curriculum for the education of the Mexican-American. Some of the socio-cultural conditions of the Mexican-Americans are definitely positive and enhance educational progress. These have not been reinforced in the educational process. Some of the conditions are negative and thwart pupil gain. These have not been circumvented.

(3) Better prepared teachers. Any culturally different group and any group living in social conditions different from that in which the teachers and the administrators live needs understanding and empathetic teachers. Teachers need to have, over and beyond professional qualifications, personal qualifications by which they understand and are empathetic to the socio-cultural conditions; but, more important, they need a keen awareness of the implications of these socio-cultural factors in the education of these students. Generally the barrios have been little "Siberias" of the school system. There are a few teachers in the barrios who are there because they want to be. These are dedicated and generally effective, but their wholesome efforts are neutralized by irresponsible, angry teachers who do not want to be there but are forced to be.

(4) Better materials. Until rather recently few materials existed specifically designed for the education of Mexican-Americans. The textbook writers, some of whom have been aware of the necessity of special materials for particular groups, have been effectively prevented by book publishers from developing these materials. The results have been that most materials are geared to a non-existent "general group" of students. Teachers then must adapt these materials to particular groups. With the heavy load teachers carry and often their lack of awareness of the needs of the students, these efforts have met with little success as far as educating the Mexican-American student.

(5) Better approaches. Generally the approaches that the teachers use are the approaches that have been successful with middle-class children. There are strong reasons to believe that the materialistic and concrete type of thinking that the uneducated engages in is a detrimental factor to the progress of the child in school. The work of Piaget and Brunner should be considered and pilot programs tried to see if these can counteract the educational lag between the Mexican-American and the rest of society. Approaches that interweave adequate motivational structures and useful subject matter need to be developed. Bilingual, bi-cultural programs need to be developed.

(6) Smaller classes. Any student who does not have all the tools needed in the learning process of the regular classroom needs special help. While the Mexican-American has as much potential as any other child, there are many obstructive factors and obstacles in his way to enable him to achieve at the same rate as the middle-class Anglo child. It has been demonstrated that Spanish-speaking children whose parents belong to the middle-class achieve as well as middle-class Anglo children, and that the lower-class Anglo achieves as badly as the lower-class Spanish surname child. Both of these types of children need special help. In order to get special help they must be placed in smaller classes where the teacher can give them the special and individual help they need.

(7) Financial support. Financial aid available in the form of scholarships, fellowships, and assistantships has proliferated, especially for college education. Yet the type of financial aid needed by the Mexican-American is not at his disposal. For example, how many of the impoverished Mexican-American children leave high school because they do not have the right type of clothes? How many do not belong to a single organization because they do not have the finances to participate in the activities of the group? At the college level, how many young Mexican-Americans have to cut short their college careers, not because of lack of interest or intellectual capacity, but because of financial difficulties? How many Mexican-Americans can afford to enter a doctoral program with no financial resources other than their salary?

FOOTNOTES

1. The present analysis draws from the more recent publications relating to the social and educational problems of the Mexican-American, from unpublished research, conversations with educators whose primary interest is the education of the Mexican-American and from the author's personal experience who has spent some twenty years working on the education of the Mexican-American.

2. Mexican-American Study Project, "Progress Report No. 2," University of California, Los Angeles, California, April, 1965.

3. Julian Samora, et al., "The Movement of Spanish Youth from Rural to Urban Settings," Position Paper for The National Conference on Problems of Rural Youth in a Changing Environment. September, 1963.

4. Colorado State Department of Education, Southwestern States Developmental Project Relating to Educational Needs of Adult Agricultural Migrants: Final Report. March, 1965.

5. Samora, op. cit.

6. Mexican American Study Project, op. cit., Progress Report No. 7.

7. William Madsen, Mexican Americans of South Texas. (New York: Holt and Co., 1964).

8. Charles F. Marden, Minorities in American Society, (New York: American Book Co., 1952), pp. 32.

9. Horacio Ulibarri, "Cultural Differences and the Education of Spanish Americans," (Unpublished Monograph, University of New Mexico, 1958).

10. Horacio Ulibarri, "Social and Attitudinal Characteristics of Spanish-Speaking Migrant and Ex-migrant Workers in the Southwest," Sociology and Social Research, April, 1966, pp. 361-370.

11. Samora, op. cit.

12. Horacio Ulibarri, "Education of Spanish Speaking Migrant and Ex-migrant Workers," Adult Leadership. September, 1966, pp. 80-82.

13. Mexican American Study Project, op. cit., Project Report No. 2.

14. Ibid., Progress Report No. 9.

15. Ulibarri, op. cit.

16. Jack Ellsworth Holmes, Politics in New Mexico, (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1967).

17. Mexican American Study Project, op. cit., Progress Report No. 9.

18. Clark Knowlton, "The Spanish Americans of New Mexico," (Mimeographed).

19. Ulibarri, 1958, op. cit.

20. Colorado State Department of Colorado, op. cit., Arizona Report.

21. Ulibarri, "Social and Attitudinal Characteristics...", op. cit.

22. Harry C. Bredemeir, et al., The Analysis of Social Systems, (New York: Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1962).

23. David Krech, et al., Individual in Society, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962), pp. 383-520.

24. Arthur W. Staats, et al., Complex Human Behavior, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), pp. 260-284.

25. Mexican American Study Project, op. cit., Progress Report No. 9.

26. Ulibarri, "Social and Attitudinal Characteristics...", op. cit.

27. Miles V. Zintz, Education Across Cultures, (New York: William C. Brown Publishing Co., 1962).

28. Horacio Ulibarri, "Teacher Awareness of Sociocultural Differences in Multicultural Classrooms," in Keach, Everett T., et al., Education and Social Crisis, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), pp. 139-144.

29. Melville J. Herskovits, Acculturation, (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1938), p. 12.

30. Norman A. Chance, "Acculturation, Self-Identification and Personality Adjustment," American Anthropologist, February, 1965, p. 372.

31. Warren C. Haggstron, "The Power of the Poor," Mental Health of the Poor, ed. Frank Riessman, (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964).

32. Walter B. Miller, "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency," Journal of Social Issues, March, 1958.